THE BLACK DWARF.

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Satire's my weapon; but I'm too discreet
To run a-muck and tilt at all I meet,
I only wear it in a land of Hectors,
Thieves, Supercargoes, Sharpers, and Directors. POPE.

AN ADDRESS TO THE UNREPRESENTED PART OF THE COMMUNITY.

——One knows not what to call,
Their generation's so equivocal
POPE.

IT is difficult to adopt any mode of address to the *unrepresented* part of the British public. The *misrepresented* have some designating characteristic. Whether fools, or knaves, or forced or willing slaves, they have *some* appellation. The *unrepresented* are mere expletives in the political creation; and if they were not called upon to *obey* laws in the enactment of which they have no share, they might be abandoned to the apparent insignificance to which they are told the constitution of England has consigned them. Since however they are expected to *pay* and to *obey*, since they are acknowledged in the account of *collections*, they are entitled to some notice; at least quarterly from the taxgatherer, although the masters of the tax-gatherers do not deem it necessary to admit them by delegation into the public counsels. Well then, gentlemen, although you are not mocked with the title of "*worthy and independent freemen*!"—although your suffrages are not courted, and *nobility*, and *wealth*, and *respectability* disdain to take you by the hand once in seven years, yet you are *something* while you have *anything*. The minister is not above taking your *money*, although he is not in any need of your advice. You are *something*, you are indeed; and although few dare tell you what you are, you must perceive yourselves to be "*slaves, on whose chains are inscribed the words liberty and freedom*!" SLAVES? Englishmen Slaves? You are startled, and well you may be, but it should be at your *condition*, and not at the proclamation of it. Look around you. Do, I beseech you, make use of your eyes. *Gaze* at the fetters, if you dare not shake them off. Look at your manacles, if you form no wish to break them. There is no treason, no sedition in this. You may *think*, and *look*, although some may tell you it is dangerous to *speak* and *act*! The elections are just concluded! What have you been doing? Nothing. You have nothing to do. Your "*sweet voices*" are not in request. Your opinion is not asked. Have you property? The state will want it: but it will not ask *you* for it. It will ask the *representatives* of others for your money, and they will say you shall give it, and give it you *must*! O rare liberty! that you are Englishmen *brave, very brave* Englishmen! and Scotchmen! and Irishmen! you are *wise* too; and your wisdom is like the wisdom of the sheep, that thinks it better to be shorn or devoured in quietness and peace.

But, *Gentlemen*, for you are very gentle, what have you been doing in the recent contest between knaves and fools. You *have* legs and arms, and you have dispositions that would not suffer you to be entirely passive. You have *reason* too, although it be not very fashionable to make much use of it. You are willing to do *right*, and can have no particular partiality for the tax-gatherer, especially when he comes on the behalf of a set of beings, who, if they must occupy places, ought to have them only in the House of Correction! You cannot be very fond of maintaining a system with which you have nothing to do; a system which treats you *much worse* than *slaves*, for slaves are in general fed by their oppressors, while you are obliged to feed your masters, and to thank them for devouring your substance, and exhausting all the produce of your toil. This is called *loyalty*;—and you gentlemen are very, very loyal. You know what loyalty means—it is not an *attachment* to the *law*, but a kind disposition to be satisfied with law, or without law, just as the minister (whether Canning, or Castlereagh, or Belzebub himself) thinks most convenient. *Loyalty* now-a-days consists also in a perfect devotion to every abuse in Church and State; and a modest obedience to all the dictates of both, when the "*necessary expenditure*" induces either to call for *more money*, whether religiously to reward the services of Oliver, Castles, and Company, or to discharge the debt of gratitude to their masters, or rather friends, Sidmouth, Wilberforce, and the remainder of the host of folly, the worshippers of the *rising star*, no matter in what quarter it appears.

This is *loyalty*, gentlemen; but loyalty should have its reward. Such of ye as are friends to this *blessed system*, ought to be entrusted, surely, with a voice in its support; although such of ye as are against it, *ought not* to be allowed to express your dissent. Now you are none of you *trusted*; you are all treated in the most contemptuous manner. Your riches, your talents avail you not; you are proscribed, you are derided, you are compelled to witness scenes in which you dare not participate. The knaves now speak out, and tell you, YOU ARE NOT FREEMEN! This is the plain truth, and although you hear it only once in seven years, it may make an impression that will last all the time. *You are not freemen*! You are the *mere materials* of the State. You are the raw commodity out of which *worthy freemen* are manufactured *as they are wanted*; but you are not freemen! No matter your rank, your talents, or your property—no matter your respectability, or character "*you are not freemen*!" The

poll books are closed against you; and though "*in the catalogue you stand for men*," it is only in the catalogue of the *species*. You have *no rights*, though you are very properly *loaded* with duties; for it would be unkind to refuse his burden to the camel that stoops to receive it; or to deny his load to the ass, who brings his panniers with him, that he may be ready to carry it the more conveniently. The *wants* of the state can leave no one exempt from contribution, but the *fewer* there are to *judge* of those wants the better; and its *prudence* has excluded you from the Jury.

But what have you been doing? Gaping and staring at the exercise of rights which you do not possess! wearing ribbons as the emblem of opinions to which you could give no force! Running after candidates to whom *you* were of no importance! Collecting in crowds to see others act, and to be content with brawling. These have been your occupations in those places where *a part of the people* are entrusted with the rights of the whole. But such of you, gentlemen, as reside in Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, &c. and other towns which have *no representatives* at all, what have you been doing. Your task has been a painful one. You have had *no sights* to cheer your spirits: you have had nobody killed amongst you for the sake of *good order*, you have had no flags flying, no bands playing, no ribbons waving, no compliments to your independence and respectability; you have nothing to do with these things, you are quite out of the scale of being. The Ministers do not think you worth *flattering* or *deceiving*. Plain, downright slavery is your inheritance, and are you not proud, very proud of your condition. You ought to be so; for it is truly enviable. You have no trouble in making laws. You are freed from public business, and have *only to pay* those who do it for you. The *peace* of your streets is not disturbed by any appeal to your opinions. The good order of society is preserved. You *receive orders* and you *obey them*. Your *masters* transact your business without consulting you, and it is but fair that they should charge what they please, for services which they are kind enough to perform even *without asking!* Why, gentlemen, why do you not send up a vote of thanks to your *actual* masters, for thus *virtually* representing you, and leaving you so much leisure to think upon the great good they have conferred upon you? You should be *grateful*—you should thank them in a *proper* manner for the *kind care* of you and your interests! What would you do without them? Perhaps some are weak-minded enough among you to think you could *govern yourselves*, elect your own representatives, and transact your own business. Do not be mistaken. Practice, practice, is every thing. These men are used to it. You are not, you could not spend half the money they do; and your squeamish notions of honesty might even prevent your giving it to them to spend. They are afraid you would injure yourselves. Is it not generous of the kind souls to consider you as children, and prevent you from doing any mischief. What should you do with representatives? Representatives indeed! Who would represent *you?* Many of you are poor and honest; and poverty and honesty are very unfashionable in these times. They very often set out together in the commencement of the journey in life, but are rarely found united at its close. You are dealt candidly with; and are armed against all chances of evil. You can do *no wrong*, for you can do *nothing*. You are not accountable for your actions, for you are not permitted to act. Your guardians take all due care of you; and though some of you may think them a little unreasonable in their charges, yet none of you will ever be able to *find out the extent of the good that is done you*. Again, gentlemen, I conjure ye, be *grateful*. You are out of the pale of the constitution; but you are within the pale of taxation. You cannot chuse your legislators, but you can pay them. You cannot make laws, but you can (when they are not too foolish or tyrannical) obey them. Throw up your caps and huzza! Give the blessed system three times three. Get drunk with joy, that you have no liberty to lose, and thank God that you are not deceived, as well as oppressed. Empty the barrels in honour of the constitution, which permits ye to support it. Let the streets resound with the praise of the laws. Like school-boys escaped on a *half-holiday*, from the rod, you can hoot and shout, and that is quite enough for *your money*. One great advantage of your situation is, that you cannot be deceived like the *worthy* and *independent* electors of other places. You know your situation, and when you call yourselves *freeborn Englishmen*, &c. &c. you know that you only do it *by courtesy*; that it is only agreeable to your ears; that you have no claim to the appellation,—that you might as well as well have been born at Guinea or Japan—that you are neither free, nor men, for what is manhood without its attributes? What is freedom without its essence and defence? The man who *may be* enslaved is a slave; for he owes his momentary liberty entirely to the forbearance of his superior.

You have been hitherto silent and discreet, gentlemen, and it will be wise to continue so. But since you are not admitted into the sanctum sanctorum, the holy of holies in the state—since none of your representatives are admitted to disgrace St. Stephens, what think ye of forming a parliament for yourselves? There you may discuss your own matters, and make a fair proposal to the administration, if you are so ungenerous as to be unthankful for their kind care and attention. Tell the minister that you wish to make the experiment of governing yourselves. Pass a vote of thanks for their past services, and decline them in future decorously. Give them *their due*, and take your own. You are, to be sure, much better without liberty; but if you will have it, well and good. You will soon be *tired of it!* Ask Dr. Slop else, or the Courier! They are agreed that it is the most dangerous thing in the world; and ought not to exist; and it is very unpolite to give the lie to the worthy Doctor, and his runner. But if you will not take his word—if nothing but experience will convince you, even try your skill, and see what hand you can make of it. They will not tell you that you ought not to be represented. They will only tell you that you are represented, and very well represented too, by themselves! They will not probably admit your representatives; if you choose any, into the honorable house; or if they should venture to go thither, they might probably send them to the Tower, lest they should do some mischief, by introducing such unknown guests as patriotism, courage, and true honor. This would be against the rules of the house, quite unparliamentary,

and hostile to the "constitution as by law established." This however, is no business of yours. You must get such representatives *as you can*—not having wherewithal to buy members of the common stamp. Your business is full of danger, and therefore you must be satisfied with obtaining men who will meet it fairly, and without shrieking. You are entering into a crusade that will require more zeal than the pretty butterflies of the system will give you for nothing: and though your contest might be justly called a "holy war," you will have neither kings nor priests engage in it on your behalf. Before you do any thing calculate the cost; but if you find the prize to which you aspire is worth all that it can demand, act as your forefathers did, and conquer the rights which you deem essential to your happiness. Tyrants are more entitled to esteem, than slaves to commisseration. The tyrant must possess some qualities that are respectable, but the slaves, the willing herd of slaves who degrade themselves and tremble at his nod, have thrown off all that is honorable in nature, and prostituted themselves at the foot of an idol of their own creation. Adieu, Gentlemen, Remember, that those who suffer themselves to be imposed upon, are much more silly than the imposters.

LETTERS OF THE BLACK DWARF.

From the Black Dwarf in London, to the Yellow Bonze at Japan.

GREAT CRY AND LITTLE WOOL!

I am once more safe in the metropolis of this strange island, and the clamour of my opponents has passed by me like the "idle wind which I regard not." I have wandered among men of many opinions; and at this season, those who have, and those who have not opinions are licensed either to retail what they have borrowed of others, or to state what they have adopted for themselves. Thus *reform!* reform! reform! salutes the ear at every turn. Reform and Wilson is exclaimed in the Borough. Reform and Burdett is echoed from Westminster! and Reform and Waithman! Reform and Wood! Reform and Thorpe! resounds through every avenue in the City. Every place has its champion; and it is indeed a pity that elections should so soon be over. What a stock of *independence* exists at those times, which cannot be discovered afterwards! What honesty! what courage! what promises! How amiable the great seem in their condescension, and how elevated the little by their momentary power. The good that *will be done* is in every one's tongue, and it is almost heresy to doubt that the parliamentary millenium approaches. Even the reformation of Canning is confidently spoken of, and Castlereagh is expected to become the apostle of truth. No more censures are now uttered against the "*ignorant impatience of taxation!*" No cries now of "treason! treason!" The Cabinet no longer vouches for the "*moral character*" of Oliver, and Castles is left entirely to himself. What a world of excellence in embryo has stood forward on the present occasion. Words are too weak for the candidates to express their gratitude: and language sinks under their sense of the obligation that is conferred upon them by the people. "*I cannot thank you!*" emphatically exclaims the new member for Yorkshire. And indeed how should he? Poor fellows! he knows they would not have had him, if they could have obtained any one else, but that is a secret between me and me. Another cries "*while you support me, I will not desert you!*" This in Japan could only mean, "while you feed me, I will remain at your table!" and in England it probably means very little else. There are times when every stratagem is considered justifiable, and every falsehood and calumny as honest and creditable. Now, the common laws of honour are suspended, and all the ties of intercourse broken asunder. Cæsar was wont to repeat some lines of the poet, purporting that if virtue was to be violated, it ought only to be for a crown. A seat in the House of Commons is of much more importance than a crown, and therefore virtue and truth are not to be placed in competition with it. The popular cause, as they call it, has in many instances triumphed over that of the administration: but the effect is not to be attributed so much to the exertion of the reformers, as to the cause in which they are embarked. That cause has borne itself triumphantly through the storm, which its pretended advocates had raised. The opponents of reform have nothing to recommend them but an indefatigable exertion to preserve the abuses in which "they live, and move, and have their being." They suffer no personal pique, no idle vanity, no mischievous squabble to interfere with their *business*. However they quarrel with, or detest each other, they take good care to pursue a regular and consistent conduct before the public. They do not destroy the discipline by all endeavouring to be officers. They look with an evil eye upon the good things enjoyed by their leaders, but the hope of obtaining them in return, renders them obedient and attentive. This is not the sort of union that ought to exist, or that can exist in the ranks of the reformers. Principle, and not interest, should cement them together. They should be united on a nobler basis than sinecures, or extravagant reward of trifling services. Instead of this, every man would command, and there are none left to act. It is *self*, and not *country*, that forms the ruling impulse: and when self-interest is followed even in the best cause, the consequences will be fatal to its success. The right path is always straight forward. If difficulties occur, they must be attacked and overcome. To go out of the way to avoid them is ridiculous. They will meet us again at every step, and we must conquer them at last before we advance. Thou wilt have seen by the papers I have sent thee, the consequences of the differences in Westminster. There, having no opponents in the first instance and determined to fight, the reformers would have a battle among themselves! So eager were they to sustain the national character, and so disdainful of enjoying a quiet victory. But it often happens that what we desire too rashly comes in too great haste; and the ministers seeing the popular party determined to fight, sent their jackal into the field to see whether it were not possible to steal the bone during the contests. The reformers although quite determined to have a battle, were wise enough, *after some consideration*, to prefer fighting with their enemies! This wise resolution was not adopted however until it was almost too late. The prize was nearly taken from them: and they were obliged to limit their desires, in order to prevent a defeat. Nothing

less than four radical reformers would satisfy them in the first instance. Having nothing to dispute upon principle, they would dispute about the *men*; and while they were contending as to which two should represent them, the field was suddenly occupied with a fifth and sixth party. I am credibly informed that if Burdett and Cartwright had been nominated alone, there would have been neither a whig, nor a government candidate brought forward. But corruption saw well enough that her enemies could not bring two to one against her, and she looked forward to a favourable issue from the dissension which existed, and trusting that the reformers would continue obstinately bent upon defeating themselves. Thank heaven, however, my friend, this was not entirely the case. The reformers though silly enough to make a foolish promise, were not quite silly enough to keep it; and to shew the strength they possessed when they chose to exercise it prudently, they came forward in a body, and rescued their champion from being beaten by a government candidate—a thing which I have before attempted to describe to thee. But this could only be done by withdrawing all subjects of difference, and proceeding together in measures which were equally understood, and approved by all.

This conduct could only partly retrieve affairs that otherwise could have had no danger to encounter. The venerable Cartwright who has been convicted of the dreadful sins of experience and honesty, has been prevented from entering the house of legislation, by those who it may be hoped will one day repent of their folly, and if possible repair their crime. A scene of confusion ensued that would baffle all description, were I weak enough to attempt to describe it. An ebullition of personal feeling destroyed all just judgment. Pretensions were formed and supported on grounds the most untenable, and all prudence was lost sight of in the general wreck of caution. From this, thou wilt receive another example of the risk in which the strongest fortress may be placed, by the weakness of its defenders. To *keep* is more difficult than to gain. Fortune may grant a victory, but *reason* is required to preserve and to improve the advantages.*

They have a proverb here *that bought wit is best*. The authors of the division in this case have bought theirs probably at too dear a rate; yet it may be useful to them on another occasion, and it is impossible to fear any recurrence of their conduct. The lesson has been severe, but it will be the better remembered; and although repentance generally comes too late, it may operate as a warning to prevent any further necessity for it. Thou who hast studied human nature so long, wouldst have been perplexed to divine their motives, and account for conduct so unexpected, and so ridiculous; and I, who am not cool enough to reflect so profoundly upon the subject, feel too warmly to speak of it with common temper. I had indulged hopes that are dashed to the ground I fear for ever. I saw in imagination the veteran advance to his seat amid the disappointed scowl of the enemies of his country. I saw the receding eye, the quivering lip, the trembling frame of the panders of the system, as he rose to confront them with their deeds, and to blazon their iniquity in the temple where they had consecrated their infamy. I heard the strength of his reason, the boldness of his eloquence break through the stagnant monotony of the honourable house. On his success the hopes of his country seemed to descend in smiling expectation. Hope lingered to witness his exertions before she bade his country an eternal adieu; and benevolence and honesty seemed about to resume their influence in legislation. When I awakened from this dream to the reverse, and when I knew that this reverse was produced by the folly of those who ought to have been wiser, I could not check the indignation that rose in my heart, nor disguise my disgust at the means that were employed to break the promise that justice had given, and that honour should have kept. All the rest of the proceedings, save the defeat of the Court Candidate, are unimportant, or disgraceful. To record them would be to stain the annals of reform, and pain the feelings of those who are reformers. Let them sleep in the oblivion they merit, or be remembered only as beacons to warn the honest from the danger that has been incurred. The sacred cause of reform cannot be served by such means. Courage tempered with prudence, and resolution chastised by a calm perseverance, are the weapons that must be used. Falsehood, abuse, misrepresentation, and vanity should be left to its enemies. They will always be sure to keep them in ample supply, and to lavish them upon reform and reformers in sufficient abundance.

Thy well-wisher,

THE BLACK DWARF

* The apathy of the Electors of Westminster on three first days is easily accounted for. They COULD NOT act. It was impossible to decide upon [illegible] pursue. But when the line of duty was placed clearly [illegible]

ELECTION MEMORANDA.

PORTSMOUTH, and interference of a peer.—One of the burgesses of this borough has surprised his friends by having promised to support the ministerial candidate, Sir G. Cockburn, in opposition to his usual sentiments. On being censured by some gentlemen for deserting the good old cause, he stated that he had been written to by LORD MELVILLE, on the subject, and for reasons he did not think proper to explain, he was *obliged* to act as he then intended.

WESTMORELAND, and *purity of election!*—A freeholder of the name of Nelson intended to vote for Mr. Brougham. He was canvassed by Lord Lowther, who offered his services to procure from government the release of Nelson's son, then confined in Whitecross Street Prison, for a debt due to the King, having been exchequered for defrauding the excise. The freeholder could not resist such an offer; and promised on his son's discharge both their votes and all their interest to Lord Lowther, at the same time not thinking it at all probable that such an event could take place. Strange to say, however, in *three days* the young man was *set at liberty!*

The friends of the present system of election ought generally to be informed, that *only one man* was killed at York, by the ministerial party. It will be gratifying to them, no

doubt, to learn that their own admirable system of *social order* gives them proofs and examples of all the mischiefs they pretend to dread from the establishment of any other. At Drogheda they have been more *fortunate*. There the military have been called out; and *glorious murder* has crowned the success of the friends of legitimacy! What a shocking thing it would be, to make any change in the "*constitution as by law established*," and to have peace, and order, and decorum, replace tumult, licentiousness, discord, and bloodshed. The mock friends of reform have had ample opportunity afforded them at least to put an end to these wanton atrocities; but it did not suit *their purpose* to attempt any *innovation* upon the right of the people to ill-treat one another. They deemed it *wise* and *prudent* to support the wildest excesses in practice, while they pretended to condemn them in theory—and charging the advocates of radical Reform with *visionary* and *dangerous schemes*, they see without any regret the mischiefs *produced*, which they affect to *apprehend*, and smile through their tavern windows at the riots which the misguided people are *betrayed into*, in the delusive hope that they are advocating *their own* rights.

Universal Suffrage is by some objected to as *inexpedient*. May we be permitted to ask, what can be more *inexpedient* than the practice which prevails in our excellent constitution of obliging every one possessing a vote to go down from the place where he resides to another perhaps two hundred miles distant, where he has no interest, to give that vote to which by law he is entitled. Why have not the *moderate* reformers remedied this palpable abuse. If the party meant to vote, why not enable him to vote where he resides? Why not establish a commission to receive the votes of those who are non-resident? The answer is easy. It is necessary that elections should be as *expensive*, and the voters as *limited* as possible, that none but *purchasers* should enter the market, and the largest purse may decide the contest.

Peers.—The noblemen are *by law* prohibited from *interfering* at elections. But the *law* was not made to be observed by the great world. So it is not *interfering* in a peer to hold any number of rotton boroughs at his disposal. It is not *interfering* in a peer to return his son, or his valet, by his own act and deed, It is not interfering in a peer to dismiss his tenants for voting contrary to his will; and employing his wealth and his influence to prevent the free exercise of opinion.

To the Editor of the Black Dwarf.

"Be wise now therfore ye Kings—be instructed ye Judges of the Earth."—Psalms, 2, c. 8, 10.

Sir,

I believe it is admitted by all correct minds, that the eternal source of intellectual existences has interwoven in the texture of the human character, an unerring and immutable principle of *re-action*, which is elicited by the oppressive efforts of *tyranny*, in that impious violation of those natural and sacred rights which *man* is heir to. It is this intellectual fiat operating collectively and simultaneously that have effected those various and successive Revolutions, which have preceded and characterized the organization—dismemberment—or demolition of those mighty monarchies, &c. recorded in the annals of the world. This attribute of the human mind, not only springs from, but is impelled and controlled by, the moral ruler of the Universe in those successive interpositions of his providence and mercy. Hence we find in the progress of this omnipotent principle, that the proud seat of Empire, and the mutations of science and civilization have varied their influences and local assumptions at different periods of the world. Where is the once polished and powerful kingdom of Macedon?—the palmed state of Imperial Rome?—the irresistable legions of the Saracen Caliphs?—*The voice of the retributive spirit replies.* The Macedonian subjects of the ambitious and blood-stained Alexander, are tributary and galley slaves. The herculean and magnanimous Roman, dwindled into the priest-ridden and effeminate Italian. The splendour of the crescent rusted and mingling with its original elements and primitive insignificance, and groaning Europe (then in obscurity) is now the glittering, gaudy and ruinous theatre of imperial monarchies, recovered thrones, rapacious ministers, grovelling senates, destructive armies, insolvent states, *legitimate conspiracies*, and hydra headed crimes! misery!! and death!!!* And now, Sir, what is the horrible consequences of this appalling state of things? Why our laws are written in human blood, our criminal code with a dragon's mouth is distending its jaws upon "brief mortality," and the imperious calls of hunger have been appeased at the foot of the gallows and beneath the axe of the public executioner——whilst state robbers, assassins, and libellers, have madly usurped the seat and sword of justice—smiled and divided the inactive thunder-bolts of heaven, rioted on the spoils of national rights, and now *mock and laugh* at the patience of human suffering! *These* are apostate spirits in stolen carcases, who under the assumed garb of *religion*, would conceal the ghastly hue of their "hell-born" principles; would hide from the public eye that homogeneous nest of scorpions which breed and coil around their heart strings; but let not this *smooth covering* deceive us by its exterior of *feigned* humanity, and so make a last fatal spring at its intended victim—remember the *cries and tears of the crocodile*. O

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* In further illustration of which, let me direct your eye to the actual state of Europe—view its universal and highly disorganized condition—see the vital principle of the *industry* of the world become suspended in its functions, and almost expiring from previous exhaustion and positive debility—man can no longer "eat bread by the sweat of his brow." Nor am I deducing the distress of nations, merely from the condition which Europe now presents; no Sir, when the keeping up of standing armies, (in time of peace), was discussed more than two years since, by our supple kneed senate, I said, "Europe cannot keep up in military efficiency and splendour, its contemplated military establishments, impossible! it is an anomaly in nature, and which like *a mud built edifice, must quickly fall to pieces from its own height and want of union in its parts*, for it is morally and politically incredible, that the machine of the world can move on, with such an immense dead weight lying upon its springs it must consequently *stop*, and thus produce a train of events, the most fearful and *stupendous!!!*" How far *I have been and shall be correct* in my conclusions, I must leave to the *knowledge* of Messrs. Castlereagh and Wellington, &c.

ye race of apostate and rapacious placemen and sinecurists!—Ye harpies of a State!! ye curse and scourge of man, what a ponderous accumulation of human guilt, misery, and death, it is which makes your tables groan with luxuries! How many tears of anguish are distilled and wrung out of millions of human beings, to fill up your costly cups!! What deep drawn sighs and groans respire from your catches and glees? But why is this? Let the retributive spirit speak—*Behold* the moral governor of the world (in infinite wisdom) has permitted the *demon of corrupt power* to rob him (for a season) of the reins of government; *see* "the prince of darkness" triumphant shakes his sable wings, "delighting horribly a ghastly smile, and blesses his maw destined to this happy hour;" the empire of darkness through all her roving depths resound, applause; senatorial *fiends* exulting clash their penal chains, the gates of hell are thrown open, "plague, pestilence, and famine" march forth, universal nature groans in sympathy—the sun has withheld its accustomed heat—the winds of heaven have visited us too roughly—the unborn infant recoils in its mothers womb, and has made her feel more than a mother's throes—"the earth is feverish and doth quake"—the avenging cry of human blood reverberates in peals of thunder through the concave of heaven—the angelic hosts suspend their notes—the pillars of ineffable light shake on their eternal base—*vivid burns the throne of God*, and "the kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers take council together against the Lord and against his anointed, saying—*let us break their bonds and cast away their cords from us*...HE that sitteth in the heavens shall *laugh*—the Lord shall have *them* in derision."—*Psalms* ii. *verses* 23, 24.

I am Sir, yours &c.

VERITAS.—(late of Beacon-hill, Bath.)

London, April 17, 1818.

P. S. here I cannot but make honourable mention of those *few* choice spirits in the House of Commons, who like stars occasionally seen of a louring and tempestuous night, acquire tenfold lustre from that worse than Egyptian darkness which surrounds them. *Reform must remould our parliament*, those springs of corrupt power, rotten boroughs, must be abolished, and the voracious and yelping pack of placemen, sinecurists, and blood-hounds must be whipped out of the kennel.

SPECIAL JURIES.

This fertile field of abuses is not yet sufficiently explored. You are *stopped* "*by authority*," at the threshold of all *enquiry*, and told you can have no information. The great body of *attornies* connive at the vices of the system, either from *cowardice*, or worse motives; and although the current practices are equally opposed to *law* and *justice*, these *gentlemen*, for the most part, stand by and *witness*, if they do not *assist*, measures every way calculated to injure their clients. They follow still the dull routine of a *custom*, originating in the vilest determination to render the trial by jury an *idle name*: and they still sanction the appointment of *interested arbitrators*, instead of the nomination of independent jurymen. The following letter has been received from an intelligent correspondent; and we call to it the attention of our readers in the most earnest manner. Those who have causes depending should insist upon their attornies doing *their duty*, and not suffering villainous customs to be enforced, that are only calculated to pick the pockets of those who imagine they are appealing to the protection of wise and equal laws.

To the Editor of the Black Dwarf.

SIR,

Although much has been *done*, much *remains*, to remedy the shameful defects which have crept into the system of special juries. You have exposed the *ulcer*, but it is still eating into the vitals of justice. The abuses in civil cases are as numerous and objectionable, as in those where the crown stands behind the bulwark of a perverted jurisdiction to aim the shafts of its corrupt influence against the freedom of the people. I wish particularly to call your attention to the conduct of one of the *principals* in this dreadful *trade*, as it is now very justly termed. I allude to Mr. LE BLANC*, the *nephew* of Lord Ellenborough, and master of the King's Bench Office, over which his *uncle* so *admirably* presides. The *family connection* is no doubt a great blessing to the country. The feelings of the "packer" of the juries, and the trier of causes may have been in kindly unison, and produced a mutual benefit. The nephew was to be *provided for*, and it will shortly appear that he was provided for much better than he provides for the impartial administration of justice. It will be necessary to enter into a little detail. If a suitor should be of opinion that his cause is of sufficient importance to require men of *education* and ability to decide it, a rule is granted to him couched in the following terms:—"It is ordered that the Sheriff of "Middlesex shall, at the expence of the plaintiff (or defendant), attend the master with the *freeholders' book* of "the said county, and the master, *in the presence of the "atornies of both parties*, shall name *thereout* 48 *good "and sufficient men*, being freeholders of the said county, "of whom 12 shall be struck out on each side, and the remaining 24 shall be returned by the same sheriff to try "the cause." On this rule the master, LE BLANC, makes an appointment for the parties to attend, and for this *trouble* master LE BLANC demands *two guineas* for himself, and *five shillings* from each party for *a copy*, as a fee to *his clerk*, but which he has recently thought more convenient to take himself, and compound with his clerk by a small regular salary. He thus makes a profit of two pounds twelve shillings for every special jury list that he is called upon to name*. For this surely, sir, he might condescend *actually* to perform the duties of his office: but *virtual* proceedings

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* This gentleman is called a public officer, but assumes the power of transacting his business in private. In one case where an *actual* special jury was insisted upon by the solicitor employed, the Editor attended as the friend of the party, but Mr. Le Blanc, conscious that his conduct would not bear the scrutiny that was designed for it, insisted upon all but the parties actually concerned leaving the room. This was all that was wanted, and confirmed all that was suspected. He was acting wrong, and was aware of it.

are the order of the day. Even for more than *three thousand a-year*, Master Le Blanc cannot afford to comply with the letter, or observe the spirit of the laws. His clerk *keeps a list*, ready cut and dried for all purposes; with the *same names*, variously transposed, and sometimes for decency's sake with a few omissions and additions, that the juggle may be the more decently kept afloat*.

The characters of many of the worthy special jurymen you have very well developed, and it is desirous that all of them should be known. I am acquainted with one who has been for about eight years in constant attendance as a *freeholder* in Middlesex. and a *merchant* in London. This man on one occasion, in his common way of business, had served once at Westminster Hall, and on the Judge leaving that place for Guildhall, he accompanied him also to *assist* in the business that might occur. Unluckily, however for the *merchant freeholder*, the Judge recollected his name: and informing him that he could not be summoned for *two places* on the same day, ordered him out of the box, very unceremoniously. This gentleman, however, made a very natural mistake; he had often been *summoned* and *served* regularly on *different juries*, at the *same place*, and on the *same day;* and it requires some discrimination to find out why the difference of place should operate to his disadvantage in carrying on his *regular trade*. If any other Judge had attended, he would have been suffered to pass as a "*good and true man;*" and surely the important office of a juryman ought not to depend upon the accidental interference of a judge, as in *some cases*, the judge might not have deemed it *prudent* to quarrel with an old friend.

As in this blessed system "kissing goes by favour," to use an old adage, it is necessary for those who would be "*called*," to keep on good terms with the *calling officer*; I remember one gentleman, who is now become an *esquire*, and resides in a *street* in a *square*, who has often been seen pacing up and down the King's Bench walk, with a small basket in his hand, containing a brace of fowls or a couple of ducks, watching to meet with and reward a friend in office, who had been instrumental in procuring the insertion of his name, sometimes on from twelve to twenty juries in one day. I have often been provoked to laugh, on seeing this "*good and true man*," ascend the jury-box, and assume the character of an independent juryman; but in sooth those who sanction such proceedings are infinitely more culpable than the wretched tools they employ.*

I remain Sir,
Your's &c.
A Friend to Justice.

* On the *demand* of the five shillings, it may be remarked, that solicitors originally *gave* it voluntarily as a private fee to the clerk, out of *their own pockets*. They afterwards charged it in their bills to their clients; and if a professional gentleman should have his bill taxed, this Master, Le Blanc, being one of the *taxers of bills*, becomes the *judge* of his *own charge*, and of course *allows it* very readily, though he must be aware that it was originally a douceur to his clerk, and that he has no right whatever to make or to allow it, for *himself*. The *appointment* of this gentleman to his office is a fair specimen of the manner in which family dependents are disposed of at the public expence. The office was held by two; but the profits were known to be tolerably extensive; and Mr. Le Blanc was quartered upon the then proprietors, as a *third partner*, and he is now become the sole successor. If the post could carry *three* before, surely there is room for *another now!*

The Sheriff has also *two guineas* for his share of the trouble, though he *takes none*; for the list being *ready made out*, once for all, his attendance is not wanted; and as the Judges declare the Master has a right *to pack* juries, the Sheriff's book is not wanted. Any favorite of the worthy Master will do, either for a *freeholder*, or a *merchant*, as the case may be; and the Sheriff gets his money for the prostitution of his name, and the abuse of his office.

COUNTRY MEETINGS.

At a numerous and respectable Meeting, held at Mossley, in the parish of Ashton-under-line, and county of Lancaster, on Monday, the 22d June, 1818, for the purpose of considering of the propriety of petitioning the House of Commons, for a radical Reform in the Representation; the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

1st. That universal liberty (civil and religious) is the undeniable right of all men, the great Creator of the Universe having made us all equal, and free; and one part of the community cannot claim to themselves the exclusive right of electing those persons who make laws by which the lives and property of the whole are affected, without the greatest injustice to the remaining part of Society.

2d. That a very great majority of the people of this Kingdom, have long been deprived of the right of electing persons to Parliament, no one can deny; and from this evil have arisen long, bloody, and expensive wars; wars that have drained the country of its sterling coin, and substituted a fictitious paper currency in lieu thereof; which, aided by an unnatural, and abominable Corn Law, passed against the declared will of the people; has enhanced the price of the necessaries of life, to a height beyond the reach of the mechanic and labourer, and entailed upon us a debt, the magnitude of which is an astonishment to the civilized world.

3d. That this enormous debt, (and consequent misery) would never have been contracted without a violation of the fundamental laws of the land; for, adverting to fact, we find that, for a period exceeding twelve hundred years, antecedent to the reign of William, while our law was a stranger to Parliaments of a duration exceeding one year, our country was equally a stranger to the curse of a National Debt.

4th. That it is the firm opinion of this Meeting, that the landed, and the funded capital, do not equally contribute towards the exigencies of the State: the funded capital being exempt from the payment of taxes, while the landed capital is not only subject to a great and increasing Poors Rate, &c. &c. but also contributes by taxation towards the payment of the interest of the funded capital, whereby the interest of the landholders is absorbed in that of the stockholders; and should the present system be persevered in, the small landholders will be reduced to poverty, and their estates become the property of the fund proprietors.

5th. That the calamitous state of our country, is sufficiently evinced by the almost universal disposition for emigration which pervades every part of the community: the small landholder, the manufacturer, the artizan, the mechanic, and the labourer, all being desirous of leaving their native land, and procuring that comfort and happiness, in foreign countries, which the measures of a succession

* Mr. Le Blanc had a clerk, whom ever since he had been in office he permitted to receive the stamp duty of £20 payable on the admission of an attorney. This money the clerk received, and was discharged by Mr. Le Blanc, though he was a government defaulter in upwards of £50,000, and when the Court of King's Bench, of which the Chief Justice is Lord Ellenborough, made to this same Mr. Le Blanc, was applied to, it determined (I believe for the first time) that the master is not liable for the conduct of his clerk, because it could not be proved that it had actually come into the hands of the master. Thus many attorneys are practising without being duly qualified, the government has been robbed, and all this been permitted by a man receiving from the special juries system only, £5,000 per year—his place has other sources of profit, but which cannot be very easily got at, which are supposed to equal that sum in amount.

of wicked, despicable, and abominable administrations have deprived them of in their own.

6th. That it appears to this Meeting, that the late suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, had no other object in view, than crushing the rising spirit for Reform, and placing the lives, liberty, and property of the promoters thereof, under the controul of a wicked and revengeful ministry: and the passing a Bill of Indemnity, which sanctions the most flagrant acts of injustice, and oppression, calls loudly for our execration; and brands with everlasting infamy, the promoters, and supporters of so unjust a measure.

7th. That the maintaining a large standing army, in time of peace, (composed partly of foreign mercenaries) is in direct violation of the ancient law of this kingdom, and ought not to be submitted to by any people, who are desirous of being considered freemen.

8th. That, should the ensuing House of Commons be composed (like the last) of the selected tools of a boroughmongering faction, and of the minions of a tyrannical ministry, we do not think it efficacious to trouble them with our just complaints; being well convinced of the inutility of such proceedings; we would, however, remind them of the prediction of the late Lord Chatham, viz:—"That if the House of Commons do not reform itself within, it will be reformed with a vengeance from without."

9th. That Universal Suffrage is the inherent right of every Briton; and Annual Parliaments, being agreeable to the spirit of our ancient Constitution, it appears to this Meeting absolutely necessary that a Reform of the Commons House (embracing those principles) should immediately take place; and we pledge ourselves to join our countrymen, to the utmost extent of our power, in obtaining these desirable objects, by constitutional means.

10th. That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to Major Cartwright, the worthy father of Reform, and to his now large, and hopeful family of Reformers

11th. That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to Walter Fawkes, Esq. for his truly patriotic conduct, in refusing to accept a seat in that augean stable of corruption, commonly called the House of Commons.

12th. That it is the opinion of this Meeting, that the Electors of Westmoreland will neither be serving themselves, or their country, in returning that whimsical lawyer, Henry Brougham, Esq. as their Representative; for we are convinced that the Whig, no more than the Tory, exerts himself for the benefit of the nation.

COBBETT v. BLACKSTONE.

Surrey, July, 1818.

MOST LEARNED AND WISE MAN OF THE EAST,

I believe every great man has been of little stature from the times of Alexander and David, down to those of Sir Allan Chambre, and the Black Dwarf. Much do I regret that my Levantine expeditions have never carried me nearer thy country than the bay of Bengal, and consequently left me no opportunity of speaking thy language: however, as we are all inclined to hope and believe what we wish, I rely upon your possession of a gift of tongues. I shall, therefore, address you in the vernacular, in spite of these dangerous times, which have negatived the Italian dancing-master's proverb, "Emeglio sdrucciolar co'piedi che "colla l'ingua," which may be rendered, Il vaut mieux glisser avec les pieds, qu'avec la langue.

We have just returned you a patriotic member to sit in the sister county to your residence, and one old one, who voted for Income Tax, Indemnity, Corn Bill, and Suspension of the Habeas Corpus; we have done this on the poulterer's principle, of one fat and one lean rabbit. This is what we have done, and now for what I have done. You must know I have determined to make myself master of the laws of the British constitution, and in my researches to that effect, whenever I suspect I have got wrong information, I mean to apply for your legal advice, which being only a threepenny letter, instead of a six and eightpenny one, is reasonable enough. Mr. Cobbett, in his last paper, says, "that after "the revolution in 1688, William, with his Dutch army, aided by the "aristocracy and gentry, very soon repealed the triennial act, and seat"ed themselves in St. Stephen's for four and then seven years." Now I wish to know, whether Mr. Cobbett means to strike William and Anne's reigns out of the calendar as Parliament once did fourteen days, or whether he has accidentally confounded the act passed in 1716, under the influence of the House of Brunswick, with a phantom of his own at an earlier period than the reign of George I? This I wish to understand, for being only a half-pay horse soldier just returned from abroad, I have had no time to be master of facts, that possibly are as bright in the eyes of Mr. Cobbett as a halberd or pike staff.

Blackstone's Commentaries, edited by Christian, are all the authority I find against Cobbett. Do pray decide the matter for my instruction. If Cobbett is leading us wrong, I hope he will put into his next edition of French grammar this simple sentence for his own and the world's instruction: "Ceux qui font parade de beaucoup savoir, sont souvent ceux qui savent le moins."

I am free to confess myself, oh learned Dwarf, no man's humble servant, but every good man's friend. MILES.

EVERY MAN HIS OWN HORSE;

AND

NO "RIDE AND TIE."

Since Whig and Tory now unite,—
To crush all Reformation,
And meet like other thieves at night,
To plot against the nation.

I'll tell the people who be they,
Created—not begotten—
The Noodle, Doodle, of the day,
And some of boroughs rotten.

But two and two—ye know are four,—
And six be half a dozen,
Then what be Whig and Tory more,
Than one another's cousin.—

The public purse—a common hack,
That both by turns may ride on't,
For when the one, is on its back,
The other wants to ride on't.

The people's Rights—and by the bye
This "*Suffrage Universal*,"
Is so adverse to "Ride and Tie"—
It must be controversal.

The juggling rogues, would all agree,
On Parliament's duration—
But Whigs more modest mention three
To *sham* a reformation.

Alas! when millions join in pray'r
For England's Constitution,
The treach'rous Whigs and Tories stare,
And call it Revolution!—

London, 6th June 1818. R. C.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

RECEIVED—Miles. A Constant Reader. Jurisprudence.

The 10th Number of Bentham's Reform Catechism will be published on Saturday next.

MR. WOOLER'S SUBSCRIPTION.

As the money contributed to promote Mr. W.'s return to Parliament for Coventry, has from circumstances been rendered inapplicable to the proposed object. The Committee request such Gentlemen, as omitted to leave their address with their subscription to send the same, on or before the 21st inst. addressed to the Committee, at 58, Sun-street, Bishopsgate, in order that the amount of their contributions may be returned.

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